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VOL. VII.—NO. 38.

BOSTON.

Last S. L. P. Broadside in the
Mayoralty Campaign.

BOSTON, Dec. 10.—The municipal campaign in Boston waxes hot.

QUINCY AN AGENT OF MORGAN.
The camp of the Philistines is divided.

Josiah Quincy, an alleged Democrat, and present Mayor, leads one wing. Quincy was formerly a Republican, but went into the Democratic party along with a battalion of young scions of Massachusetts money bags some years ago when the Democratic party promised cheaper goods via free trade, and incidentally to control that party in the interest of the big pirates.

SINGLE TAX DUPES.

When in the Legislature he was an active and energetic worker for biennial elections, and the leader of the corporation and large monied interests of the State, and especially of that class that have a movement in the field to exempt from taxation stocks, bonds and mortgages, a cabal that has used the Single Tax followers as a cat's paw—as they were used for years by the Cleveland gang—to further their interests.

QUINCY'S CAPITALISTS' CABAL.

Quincy has established a cabinet outside of the law, which he calls "a strong and permanent connecting link between the city government and the leading business organizations of the city." It is called the "Merchants' Municipal Committee," and is elected by the Associated Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, the Clearing House Association, the Real Estate Exchange, and the Shoe and Leather Association. These men are known as the Mayor's advisers.

Quincy and his backers have for years been working to take all the power possible from the City Council and vest it in the Mayor, and they have succeeded. The power not vested in the Mayor has been given largely to trustees appointed by him, who, as corporations, have charge and absolute control of such institutions as the Public Library and City Hospital, save that the City Council decides how much money they shall have each year. Since he entered public life his cold and clammy hand has been into everything tending to take power away from the voters and tighten the grip of capital. His leading passion is the love of power.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE.

Curtis, the Republican candidate, is light—very light. He is no match for Quincy as a juggler and political fakir. Quincy has been offered a prize if he will say who he voted for for President, but he will not.

TOM RILEY, LANDLORD.

Thomas Riley, a lawyer, who is said to be a man of honest impulses, but so far as the public expression of such impulses for the past dozen years are concerned, has kept them well under control, is the candidate of the Bryan Democrats, who could not go Quincy together, as allies, a quarter of a gross of Democratic statesmen and former city office holders now out of a job.

Riley, while never having been connected with the corrupt politicians, is a typical representative of the middle class, which THE PEOPLE has often pointed out, the Bryan party stands for. In addition to being a lawyer, he is a landlord in a small way; he is as assiduous in Boston for \$100,000, and like his class and all upstarts, is said to be an exact and exacting landlord. While other men have been out on the trail of capital and its political fakirs, Riley, like all of his tribe—the middle class—who have not been sold out by the Sheriff, has been adding house to house and living, in what might be called his castle, on Beacon street, with the skins of his fellow men.

THE PEOPLE'S old friend, the labor fakir, is about in all his old-time glory, and, as usual, is allied with the wing of the capitalist class that has the most ready cash to pay for professional services such as he has to offer. Quincy being backed by the syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan, of New York, whom he helped to mulct the city to the tune of \$2,000,000 to assist them in building the Union Station. All in need of ready cash or drinks and cigars are hurrying to the Quincy camp.

THE HAND OF THE LABOR FAKIR.

The following appeared in all the papers last night:

At a meeting of the Workingmen's Political League last evening the large attendance present voted unanimously to endorse the candidacy of Mayor Quincy, and to work zealously for his re-election upon the grounds of his magnificent record in behalf of organized labor. Arrangements were also made to carry on an energetic campaign in behalf of Frederick J. Kneeland, candidate for the School Committee.

EDWARD J. RYAN, Pres.

FRANK K. FOSTER, Secy.

Foster was one of the tribe of labor fakirs who make their headquarters in Boston, and who came out in a similar way endorsing the candidacy of Grover Cleveland in 1892 "on the ground of his magnificent record in behalf of organized labor," when their circulars endorsing him were put out at Socialist labor rally in Faneuil Hall, from which platform they and their endorsement were denounced. Unfortunately for them, events forced Cleveland to show his hand towards organized labor in a way that will make him infamous in history, and marked the beginning of the downfall of the tribe of labor.

THE EARLY LABOR MOVEMENT.
In 1848 an honest attempt was made

to found "workingman's party" in this town. On May 9th of that year a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, when the following resolutions were adopted:

"RESOLVED, That if we would procure the passage of just and efficient laws to protect labor and raise it from its present degrading dependence on wealth, we must purge the halls of legislation of hirelings, who basely pander to the interests of capital, and to accomplish this result we recommend for the laboring classes to try the experiment of trusting the management of the political affairs to men of their own class who know their interests and have fellow feeling in supporting them."

The meeting was called to endorse the candidate of the workingmen's party, and was addressed by Elizur Wright, Horace Seaver and John C. Clure.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN 1848.

In April, 1848, the Franklin Typographical Society, of Boston, an organization still in existence, but now dominated by the boss class, "voted to transmit to the printers of Paris, in response to the glorious events of the recent revolution in France, in which they bore so noble a part."

"We rejoice to learn," the address goes on to say, "that the tendency of events in France is to social reform, and that the French people are demanding that reorganization of society which shall secure to the laboring man the fruit of his skill and industry. To us this is the noblest feature of your revolution, for we are convinced that mere political reforms do not effect much for the mass of mankind. The people have done enough for the self styled higher classes; it is time now to work for themselves. They should proceed as if they knew and recognized the truth contained in the noble words of one who, at different periods of his life was a citizen of France and the United States, namely, 'That gold in the last analysis is the sweat of the poor and the blood of the brain.' As Americans, engaged in a vocation which you have honored and illustrated by heroic deeds, as citizens of that community which France was first to welcome to the lists of nations, and to sustain whose liberty and freedom she poured out her blood and treasure; as bearing in our united capacity the name of that man who formed the first treaty between France and the United States, and was at once a philosopher, a statesman, a friend of the human race, and a printer, we venture to address the printers of Paris as men."

In a future article I will attempt to show that the working class political movement started here in Boston early in the century, was nipped in the bud by the tool of the boss class—the predecessor of the labor fakir now abroad in the land, and that the Socialist Labor party is carrying on the work on the lines laid down by the organized workingmen in Boston and Massachusetts as early as 1836.

HISTORY SUPPRESSED.

There are no depths of villainy and mendacity that these fakirs hesitate to stoop to; they not only try to declare what history shall be made, but pervert it when made. In 1869 the Knights of St. Crispin, an organization of those workers, broke away from the pure and simple, and organized a workingmen's party in Massachusetts, and nominated the late Edwin M. Chamberlin for Governor, and cast 13,000 votes that year and 20,000 the next. George E. McNeil in 1884 published what he calls a "history of the labor movement." Though the book contains about 400 pages of matter, mostly trash, he neither mentions this movement or Mr. Chamberlin, who bore such a pure and conspicuous part in the labor movement from 1865 to 1892. The book, however, contains pictures of about all of those who have appeared during the last five years in THE PEOPLE'S rogues' gallery, with no end of biographical sketches.

The action of the author of the "History of the Labor Movement" in this respect ought to brand him as an historical fakir of the worst kind.

THE LAMP-POST FOR FAKIRS.

It is lucky for this tribe that we are on the edge of the social revolution rather than in the heart of it, else they would find themselves dangling from lamp-posts. The blows THE PEOPLE has been striking are beginning to tell.

Worcester's thirteen hundred votes at the State election for the Socialist Labor party, followed by the nine hundred votes for the Socialist candidate for Mayor in Haverhill, and the election of a Socialist to the City Council last week, and the 450 votes for the Socialist candidate for Mayor in Fitchburg, the toughest soil for Socialist seed to grow, are but the forerunners of a mighty break in the very near future to the Socialist Labor party. It may come at the city election in Boston next Tuesday, Dec. 21st, or it may be postponed, but come it will. Let every Socialist do his duty and swell the vote for David Goldstein for Mayor.

T. C. B.

BOSTON NOTES.

The Socialist Labor party will hold its last rally during this campaign in Faneuil Hall, Monday night, Dec. 20th.

A copy of this issue of THE PEOPLE will be mailed to each voter who signed the Socialist nomination papers. They are invited to subscribe. It may be found on sale at the news stand in Brigham's restaurant; Crossroads, 183 Harrison avenue, and at Cohen's, on the Bridge, Washington street, and at other places.

Those who intend to vote for the Socialist party and have their vote counted can only do so by voting for David Goldstein for Mayor; let each ballot look like this when it is deposited in the ballot box:

DAVID GOLDSTEIN (Mayor).
Don't throw away your vote on either Riley, Curtis or Quincy.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 19, 1897.

The People.

THE PEOPLE

Can be had hereafter from any news dealer in

Greater New York

on FRIDAY morning. See that your news-dealer gives it a prominent place on his stand.

PRICE 3 CENTS.

BRAVO, HAVERHILL.

The Arm With the Hammer Strikes Heavily.

The Election of James F. Carey to the Common Council by the Socialist Labor Party From the Fifth Ward—Detailed Account of the Vote—The Socialist Labor Party Poll Rises in all the Wards—No Truce Declared Until the Foe Shall Have Surrendered to the International Red Banner of Socialism and Wage Slaves Shall Have been Emancipated.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Dec. 10.—The municipal contest in this city has been brought to a close and victory has perched upon the banner of the Socialist Labor party. We have come out of the contest with a better organization, more Section members, with largely increased vote, while the cohorts of boodle are amazed, wondering why and how the thing occurred. Haverhill wears the proud distinction of having elected to her council chambers the only Socialist which has thus far been elected east of Paterson, N. J.

The 5th Ward is essentially the workingman's ward. It comprises some 1,800 voters, 90 per cent. of which are wage slaves. It is also the abiding place of Socialism. It was but fitting that we take the step which has been taken here, and the results attest the efforts made. In some of the other wards, while they have many Socialist residents, there was none who came within our constitution, hence we nominated no candidates for Alderman in the 2d and 6th Wards. With the exception of the 5th Ward we made no contest for the School Board, assessors, and the other minor offices. As it may please the members of the party throughout the nation to know the party's relative strength, I give the vote throughout:

For Mayor: Daniel S. Chase, "Citizens' non-partisan," 3,109; John C. Chase, Socialist Labor, 875; John A. Gale, Republican Good Government, 2,338.

For Aldermen, Ward 1: James F. Dailey, Socialist Labor, 1,195; Fred V. Hooke, capitalist, 3,368; William Sellers, who ran on some other firm of "business men's good government," 1,042. Ward 3: George Ashworth, Rep., 251; George L. Evans, Socialist Labor, 938; Daniel F. Roche, Dem., non-partisan, good for everything, 1,674; Leyander J. Young, Reg. Rep., 2,527. Ward 4: B. Franklin Barnes, non-partisan, 1,202; William J. Evans, Socialist Labor, 786; Roswell L. Wood, good government, 3,681. Ward 5: Dumer B. Bean, Rep.-nomination papers, 2,661; Euchariste Bellefeuille, Socialist Labor, 888; Geo. F. Carleton, Reg. Rep., 2,191. Ward 7: Albert L. Gillen, Socialist Labor, 1,431; Alfred E. Lyons, Rep., 3,478.

For Common Council—Ward 5: Jas. F. Carey, Socialist Labor party, gets 909 votes, and is elected; John W. Codaire, the next highest, receives the "non-partisan" compliment of 639; Michael Collins, Independent, 90; A. E. Deroche, Independent, 41; Charles A. Gale, Rep., 440; Jas. S. Huggins, Rep. Ind., 432; Richard B. Thomas, Dem., 89.

For School Committee: George M. Burker, the S. L. P. candidate, gets 363; George Hain, non-partisan, 278; Dr. Duncan McDougall, Rep., 743.

It may be well to say that the first municipal contest ever waged in this city by the S. L. P. was in 1895, when Comrade Michael F. Berry, the then candidate for Mayor, secured 136 votes. James F. Cary was the party's standard bearer in the election of 1896, and received 604 votes, and at a special election held last June he received 601 votes, notwithstanding that the latest vote cast fell off at least 30 per cent. from the preceding regular election.

We have demonstrated to the capitalist politicians that we are here; will stay here till we conquer the universal public powers, and to the wage slaves whose wage is "somewhat" lower in years gone by that it is the only haven for the degraded and disheartened sons of toil. And to the whole people we say we are here to assist at the funeral of capitalism in city, state, nation and earth, and will lay down our guns only when the foe has surrendered and the International Red Banner of Socialism has been planted on the citadels of capitalism.

Hence we say: "Workingmen of all countries unite; you have naught to lose but your chains, and a world to gain." M. F. BERRY.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

LETTER BOX.

Ozband Answers to Inquirers.

H. O., Portland, Me.—If you look more carefully at the facts in the case you will find the bottom dropping out of your premises; and if you read more carefully the paper from which you send a clipping you will find your master to be the reverse of what you claim.

L. L., Baltimore, Md.—The San Francisco "New Charter" of Nov. 5, referred to in our last week's communication from Lynn, contains a letter from Gov. Rogers to the Editor, assailing, not Socialist tactics only, but Socialist aims and principles. It is therein answered very much in full, and Gov. Rogers is shown not to be a Socialist at all.

J. P., Washington, D. C.—If you have the money to spare and the time to devote to Lubbock's two works, it will pay reading them. Having the key to history furnished by Socialism, their errors are easily detected. There is much in them that is valuable.



FORCE WITH FORCE.

Graphic Account of Socialist Bravery in Vienna.

President Abrahamowicz of the Austrian Reichsrat, who, in Order to carry out the Repulsive Programme of Premier Badeni, Violated the Rules of Parliament, Receives his Answer from the Socialist Delegates, Who, Although Subsequently Forcibly Ejected, Have Received the Unstinted Approval of the Working class of Austria—A Great Historic Incident.

VIENNA, Austria, Nov. 26.—The high-handed procedure of yesterday by Abrahamowicz and his stupid majority was answered to-day by the Socialist Labor party's representatives in the only manner that such soundrelism deserves. What took place to-day was not a "session"; it was a good deal more; it was the indignation of a people against political cliques of all sorts that are now seeking to seize the rights of the people finding its fiery expression. Abrahamowicz and his heelers heaped crime upon crime. Accordingly, to-day there appeared policemen in the Hall of the Representatives of the people and dragged out of the hall the men chosen by the people to go into that Hall. This crime cries for redress and will find its redress.

The following is a short sketch of those now historic three hours. The principal entrances as well as the court yards of the House of Representatives were occupied with guards; from all sides, large masses of people pressed forward to get admission. At each of the entrances to the second gallery strong guards were posted long before 11 o'clock, intended to keep the people away. In the House itself a great excitement prevailed. Every lobby was crowded with people who still hoped to gain admission through the influence of friendly delegates. The delegates themselves were almost all in their seats. A heavy weight seems to hover over the House. An explosion is expected. It is noticed that the number of assistants at the bar before the President's desk is greatly increased.

At 11:30 the President, Abrahamowicz, his colleagues, Kramarsch and Fuchs, appear and take their seats. The Socialist Labor party delegates stand like a wall before the bench of the Ministry on which Badeni, Gautsch and Ritter had taken their seats. Abrahamowicz had barely taken his seat, when "Away with him!" "Off with the President and his colleagues!" and such outcries came from the body of the Socialist Deputies. The rest of the Left was almost quiet; but the cries of the Socialists resounded ominously through the House. The President grows pale; evidently he was not prepared for such a reception. In a little while he seizes the bell and rings for order. That only embitters the feelings; the cries of the Socialist delegates become ever louder and more violent. The President rings again. Thereupon that took place was the violent answer to the violation of the laws by Abrahamowicz. As a bolt of lightning the Socialist Delegate Berner leaps over the heads of the Ministers; lands on the President's desk, and imperiously points his fingers at the law-breaker, the President; seizes and throws away the bell, sweeps the President's papers off the desk and throws them on the floor. Almost at the same moment Delegate Reisel of the Left landed near the President's place and scatters the last papers over the House. The other Socialist Delegates rush forward. In an instant the President is surrounded by them. Abrahamowicz squeezes himself between them and escapes while the struggle proceeds over his head. His aids venture to threaten the Delegates and some of the "Young Zechs" come to the aid of the former; with the dexterity of rowdies, Urdzial, Dyk and Lang, "Young Zech" Delegates, fall upon Berner, trying to pull him down. Berner defends himself powerfully, but is finally overcome by a heap of these people, under whom he seemed literally buried.

All the same, the President's desk remains in the possession of the Socialist Delegates; our brave Comrades hold it like a fort. It was a solemn, beautiful moment; it was a scene full of deep, genuine and justified passion, never to be forgotten by those who saw it. The two Vice-Presidents also took themselves off, and a thundering cry followed them: "You are a lot of miserable scoundrels." From the desk that Abrahamowicz had desecrated passionate cries now resound that are received with storms of applause by the Left. Our Comrade Delegate re-enters the Hall from another side and rushes forward to the President's desk, now held by his friends. He is received with stormy joy. A few minutes later Kramarsch appears in the Hall and endeavors to parley with the Socialists. Delegate Daszynski answers him: "We shall yield only to force." Kramarsch retires. The incredible is now expected.

POLICEMEN IN THE HALL.

It happened. The police turned up. The door to the right opened, and a whole brigade, fully 60 strong, with pikes, and lead by the Chief of Police, marches in. A fearful noise ensues. Above the din are heard the cries fired at the police: "Go back!" "You are committing a breach of the Constitution!" "Such a thing is unheard of!" The Chief of Police first surrounds the President's desk and the Ministers' bench. Then he ordered his men to fetch the Socialist Delegates down. The order is executed by seizing them one by one. The first to be seized was Einger, and he was dragged down. The police fell upon him like executioners.

POLICEMEN IN THE HALL.

The subsequent events are pretty generally known. Badeni's victory was short-lived. That same evening he had to resign. And the Socialist Delegates who reported the transactions of that historic day to their constituents were everywhere received and applauded by monster mass-meetings.

The Brooklyn trolleys are to be consolidated—"for the good of the public." How "for the good of the public"? Because by the consolidation "\$1,000,000 will be saved."

To whom? To the public? Will fares be lowered?—No, no, no.

How then?

By having fewer employees. In other words, the savings are to come out of the hide of the working class—whence all the savings come.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,065
In 1890.....	12,321
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	22,125
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564

He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.

Ecclesiastes

HAWLEY GIVING THE LIE TO McKinley.

According to the President's message, the nation is a lump of prosperity; according to a bill introduced by Senator Hawley at the earliest hour possible, the nation's prosperity has wide and deep cracks.

No sooner was Congress opened and the President's message had been read, than Senator Hawley demands attention to a bill brought in by him for two additional regiments of artillery. How is the introduction of this bill to be interpreted but as the lie direct to the Presidential claim of our paradisaical happiness?

A happy nation can be only such in which all, or at least the overwhelming majority of its people, are happy. Isolated instances of unhappiness need not be positive signs of a germ of disease that is bound to spread; they may be exceptions that prove the rule; national happiness need not be affected by them; but a happy nation must at least be one with a majority of happy beings.

A being is happy only when he is free, and a being can be free only when his mind is free from anxiety for a living. His happiness must have for its ground-work the knowledge that his well-being depends upon himself; that he will be poor and harassed by want only if he neglects to guard against want, and that if he is industrious, his industry will be rewarded.

Man's sense of freedom is born from the sense of his independence from others and his dependence upon himself. There can be no freedom and no happiness where man's individuality is undersigned by dependence upon others for existence. A happy nation must, accordingly, be one in which the people feel self-reliant.

A self-reliant man is a peaceful man. He who is happy, being self-reliant, and is self-reliant because his well-being depends only upon himself, is himself an instrument and source of order and peace. Such happy conditions he would be the last to disturb and the first to uphold. A happy nation must, accordingly, be one in which order and peace are in the keeping of its own people, and proceed from their happy frame of mind. A happy nation needs no artificial means to preserve order and peace; force, regiments of artillery, are superfluous institutions among such a people.

Now, then, if McKinley is right, and we are a happy, prosperous people, why should we want more regiments of artillery than we now have? If, on the other hand, Hawley is right, and we do need such increase of repressive power, we are not a happy and prosperous nation. One or the other is in error.

Which of the two, McKinley or Hawley, in giving the lie to the other, is right?

MISSIONARIES AS BALES OF MERCHANDISE.

No doubt that the German raid upon China in "vindication of Chinese outrages upon German missionaries" is intended to furnish material upon which to base capitalist stump speeches during the approaching elections for the Reichstag. We shall hear much about "patriotism," "religion," and the like; and who knows but that outside of Germany similar arguments will be made on the same subject, and with the same end in view.

These speeches may edify those who find it profitable to be edified thereby, to the increasing number of clear-headed people the circumstance serves to throw light upon the development of capitalist political methods.

At one time the bale of merchandise was the pretext for "patriotic" outbursts. Our own continent, especially below the Rio Grande, was the theater of such "patriotic" displays. An English, a French, a German or a Spanish adventurer would suddenly turn up and open a shop in some town of Latin America. His appearance was usually connected with some scheme concocted in the Foreign Office of his own country. Sooner or later a revolution would break out in the town he settled down in. Thereupon, whose ever's shop remained intact, his own

was always consumed by fire. Like the bankrupt bourgeois who in the days of the downfall of the Commune in Paris poured petroleum over their places, burned them down, and then laid the blame upon the Communists, and got their insurance moneys, these traders always destroyed their own property, and forthwith demanded indemnity from the country of their "adoption." These indemnities were not small. Bales of cheap merchandise, not worth \$10, are known to have become the basis for claims running up into hundreds of thousands of dollars, and for armed interventions that subjected the American State, picked out for the purpose, to the pillage of the soldiery of the European nation whose "citizen" had been outraged. To a not inconsiderable extent, the history of many a Latin American State is the history of these "patriotic" efforts of the capitalists of some European nation, at the time running its government, to "maintain the dignity of their country." The Maximilian Empire in Mexico, backed by French arms, was the most notable instance of these European capitalist conspiracies.

Of late the pretexts for these raids by European states have undergone a change; it must be admitted, an improvement—from their standpoint. Missionaries are now substituted for bales of merchandise. The bale of merchandise can not be claimed to have a religion; "sacred" though property may be to the capitalist, he can exploit "religion" twice as well. Moreover, as human life is becoming such a drug on the market through the development of improved machinery, the Missionary can be had cheaply; his whole outfit—stove-pipe hat, white cravat, umbrella and smirk—need not cost half as much as the average bale of "cheap and bad" merchandise. Thus it happens that with increased and increasing frequency we now find "patriotism" to bubble, and rage, and find expression in the clutter of arms, not over bales of merchandise, as used to be the case in the days of less developed capitalism, but over the carcass of a Missionary, whose life, useless, superfluous, and a drug at home, blossoms abroad into an odorous martyr, the source of "religious" and "patriotic" indignation that serves as an infinitely better wedge to open new markets with, and replenish the coffers of the Gentile, Jewish and Atheist labor-fleecers at home. So now with the German episode in China.

This development, in its outward manifestation is instructive. How will it work at home? We shall soon be able to tell.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

ST. PETER AND THE POLITICIANS.

[Written for THE PEOPLE BY JAMES ALLMAN, New York.]

Saint Peter stood by the heavenly gate, Where the souls of the blest enter in. Wearied he was, for he has long to wait In this era of evil and sin.

When most souls of men, I am sorry to say,

Are so wicked they go in the opposite way.

Three mortals approaching, in greatest surprise

The heavenly janitor saw.

He keenly gazed on them with questioning eyes.

And addressed them thus: "Before I draw

These bolts back and throw heaven's gate open wide.

You must tell what you were on earth, and how you died."

"When I was on earth," the first mortal told.

"The Republicans I voted for,

The party who promised us plenty and gold;

But now, Pete, I feel very sore,

For when they got in, truth to tell, naught to hide.

The times were so hard, of starvation I died."

"My case," said the second one, "differs from that:

For Peter, to you I'll relate

That I, when on earth, was a staunch Democrat,

And my party controlled the whole State:

Now just how it happened I cannot tell you.

But strange to say, I died of starvation, too."

"They called me a Socialist while I alive Was," the third mortal here loudly said; "I taught that a small idle class should not thrive,

On the wealth which the laborers made; But the many were fools, like these two, and denied

The truth that I taught and—of hunger I died."

The gate Peter opened: "Right in YOU can go."

To the Socialist's spirit he said:

"Take an orchestra seat in the heavenly show."

At the other two he shook his head.

Saying, "You can't go in, for the truth I must tell.

Your ignorance would soon transform heaven to hell."

On the 21st instant there will be a grand mass meeting at Winter's Teutonia Hall, corner Harrison and Bartlett streets, Brooklyn.

Comrades Daniel De Leon, J. Alman, and M. Hiltiqui on "How to Abolish Poverty." Alexander Jonas will speak in German.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

As Seen by a Socialist.

Civil service reform at the present time seems to occupy a somewhat prominent place in the public mind, so much so indeed that it would appear as if those who advocate it desire to introduce it into every office which can by any means be considered as public. Indeed, judging from the movements of its advocates at the National Capital, the impression seems to be justified that the extension of Civil Service Reform is urged with more vehemence within the last few years than at the original recognition of it by law.

Moreover, whereas in the past civil service reform has had some opposition, this was weak compared to that which is now being marshalled against it. Indeed, whatever may have been the pressure brought to bear against it in the past, it remained for this day to see an organized fight made against it, this now commencing under the auspices of the Anti-Civil Service Reform League of the City of Washington, D. C.

Viewed from the standpoint of capitalistic political economy, the advocates of civil service reform seem to have by far the best of the argument, and since the people at large have generally only been presented with the views of those advocates and opponents who employ the reasoning of such capitalistic political economy, and since the opponents have been mostly disappointed office seekers, it is clear that, at the present time, the large majority believe civil service reform is a step in the right direction.

Let us, however, consider the question of civil service reform from the standpoint of the proletariat, or the working class, and to do this let us first understand the conditions of the civil service prior to its "reform," and then examine its condition after the said reform, since, generally speaking, we may justly attribute the difference to the workings of the civil service reform legislation.

In the earlier days of our government we had what the civil service advocates term the "spoils" system, that is to say, the party in power had absolute control of all appointive offices, and, as a consequence, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any one not a supporter of the dominant party, to obtain employment under the government.

Occasionally one who did not endorse the views of such dominant party would be in government position under such party, but in that event such incumbent had perhaps a personal friendship or relation with some prominent politician of the party in control of patronage.

If part of what is told of the civil service under the spoils system be true, and it will scarcely be denied, the employees of the government were not prone to overwork themselves during that regime.

As a consequence, a larger number of employees was needed to conduct the business than would otherwise be required. Subordinate officials would lounge about the buildings, and if called before their superiors for reprimand, as sometimes happened, would emphatically impress upon such superiors the advisability of a policy of non-interference. In other words, nearly every incumbent was more or less of a factor in the party either through his influence as a local worker or as a personal friend of some prominent politician. Partizanship ran high, campaigns were discussed with warmth and interest by all whose views coincided with the platform of the dominant party. Others were forced to hold their peace, and were given to understand that they held their positions by a shadowy title indeed. Funds for election purposes were collected from the employees, who were also forced to take an active part in various schemes for the promotion of the party.

With this condition of things it is obvious that the Republicans, who had been successful at the polls for many years prior to the adoption of the Civil Service Act, filled practically all the government offices and held them for years. A Democrat in office was not entirely unheard of during that time, but there were few, and their lives were almost unbearable in some instances.

It is noteworthy that a Democrat was the champion of the proposed reform. This champion, George H. Pendleton, he remembered, was also an extremely wealthy man, from an extremely wealthy family. It might be urged that Pendleton's advocacy of civil service reform was because he was shrewd enough to see that, if it were introduced, Democrats would stand a chance of obtaining an office under the government, even if the Republicans continued to be robust at the polls.

This motive, however, did not prompt his action, since his shrewdness went further, and his thorough knowledge of the subject, partly acquired by a study of the system abroad, would clearly show him that he could not pass any civil service law which would compel the dominant party to appoint an adherent of the opposite party.

Let us now turn to the conditions of the civil service as it exists to-day.

In striking contrast with its previous characteristics, the discipline of to-day is almost perfect. To take an active interest in an election is offensive partizanship and cause for removal. To be late at work is a misdemeanor, to be careless or indifferent in work a crime. The thirty days' vacation with pay and the sixty days' sick leave with pay, obtained by incumbents under the spoils system, still exist in most departments, but the former often must be taken only when the work of the applicant for leave has been brought up to date by long hours of overwork, and the presentation of a doctor's certificate with request for sick leave is not necessarily fatal, but at least a thing to be avoided.

To use the language of the civil service advocates, the departments are now being run on "business principles." Every workingman outside the departments knows what that means. Economy is practiced in every branch—both of time and material. Salaries, it is true, are high in comparison with what the incumbents could earn if thrown out of office, and the hours, as fixed by law, are short. Unnecessary subordinate officials are gradually being dispensed with by the introduction of new systems of business. Contract work is run to the lowest prices in many cases, and a gradual movement toward the government production of these things required by itself can be seen. To sum up the leading theme of the hymns of praise going up from the throats and pens of its many supporters relative to civil ser-

vice reform seems to be: "It is so much cheaper."

Now, to whom does all this benefit flow? Let us see.

According to socialistic economics, labor and nature produce everything. Nature makes no charge for her services in the partnership business, and, consequently, all wealth can truly be said to be the production of labor. Yet we know that there is a class which does nothing in the way of production and still gets more wealth per head than does the laboring class.

This is the capitalistic class.

This is due to the industrial ownership of the means of production and distribution, together with the rapid advancement of labor-saving machinery. The machinery displaces labor, and the unemployed bid against each other and against the employed for positions, thus lowering the price of labor to the point where the wages will just suffice to keep the workers in existence and allow them to raise a new supply to replace themselves. By this competition among the laborers, due to the fact that they have no money or property on which they can live without work, and hence MUST sell their labor power in order to keep themselves from starving, the class which owns the means of production and distribution can demand from the workers a certain amount of what the workers produce. The class which can do this is the capitalistic class before referred to.

Therefore the wealth in the hands of said capitalistic class is practically stolen from the workers by what might be termed with truth a system of legalized highway robbery. Instead of demanding "money or your life" at the point of a knife or the muzzle of a gun, the capitalistic class enforces the demand with the wave of a title deed of some sort, it being fully known to the workers that if they refuse to be scared by such an instrument, the demand will be backed up by further weapons in the way of courts, sheriffs, police, and finally, armies, if necessary, so that it might be said that modern weapons of warfare are the real instruments to compel the compliance of the workers with the demands of the capitalistic class.

These modern weapons of warfare, and the various shadows of them which are first used to scare the workers, viz., the courts, sheriffs and police, kept up for the capitalistic class, constitute the main part of the present government, when taken in connection with the collateral branches required to keep this main part in condition for use and to collect the money by which it is maintained.

The money to support all this machinery of government is raised in two ways: by import duties and by taxes levied either on property or on the person.

If the worker must pay any of these taxes, then the amount of which he can be robbed by the capitalistic class is reduced to an equal extent, but without any benefit to the worker. If the capitalistic class pays any of these taxes, the amount which such class took from the worker is reduced by that much.

The capitalistic class dares not abolish the government, which serves only to protect its class against the indignation of the workers, but, on the other hand, every cent spent on the support of such a government puts down by that much the amount which the capitalistic class has robbed from the worker, or which otherwise could be robbed from him by such class.

Here we see the two opposing features of the present system of society. On the one hand the capitalist must have his government, and on the other hand, his stealings are reduced by the amount necessary to support that government.

What the capitalist does then is to so control and arrange his government that he can have all the protection which he will need against the workers at the least possible cost.

THIS IS CALLED CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

This whole scheme of cheapening the cost of the government to the capitalistic class no doubt was the only motive which prompted Pendleton to fight so earnestly for the introduction of civil service reform.

He belonged to and represented the class which would derive the sole benefit from it, and his class instincts and interests pointed out the path to be trod.

All efforts were made and are still being made to get a corps of employees who would turn out the most work in the least time, whereby the number of workers required would be greatly reduced as compared with the old system.</p

PLAIN WORDS TO BOSTON WORKINGMEN, JEW AND GENTILE.

Address Delivered by Daniel De Leon, under the Auspices of the Re-organized Jewish Section of Boston, in Wells Memorial Hall, Boston, Nov. 12, 1897.

[From a Stenographic Report.]

Comrades of the reorganized Jewish Section of Boston, workingmen and working women:

It is about two years ago, I think, that from this very platform I addressed you upon the tactics we were pursuing in New York, and thanks to which we had scored a very respectable success. I recommended to you that you adopt similar tactics if you desired to make progress. I am glad to say the advice given was taken to heart. You crushed the cockatrice of Anarchy in the egg; cleansed your ranks; merited the applause of the National Convention of the Socialist Labor party; and have since marched onward with firm steps, steadily gaining ground. Encouraged by such successful efforts on your part, I accepted the invitation to address you again on party tactics. Taking my subject—"Plain words to Boston workingmen, Jew and Gentile"—from the circumstance that this meeting is held under the auspices of the reorganized Jewish Section of Boston, reorganized after it has been hit of the undignified material that hitherto disgraced it and hampered its work, I shall again take up the question of party tactics, and shall again draw from New York the illustrations and the examples I wish to hold up to you. This I consider all the more timely because of the fact that, in this city, you are now for the first time taking part in a municipal campaign. It may seem paradoxical to say, but you will presently agree, that just for the reason that municipal campaigns afford the least ground on which to deploy Socialist issues it is all the more necessary to conduct them with closest adherence to sound tactics.

MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGNS.

Municipal issues, especially in these days of capitalist "sop-throwing" campaigns, are placed in an angle of vision that easily lead the eye away from the ground issue underlying all campaigns, and asserting itself with ever greater force—the issue of Labor against Capitalism. Cheap gas, cheap fares and kindred matters are quite "taking," yet all agitation based upon them, not only leads away from, but is a blunt denial of Socialist principles and aims. Cheapness is among the last things that Socialism is after, because living can not be "cheapened" without the price of labor being proportionally cheapened. It follows from the scientific principle that labor is a merchandise under the capitalist system, that the laws of the market, which rule the price of all merchandise, must also rule the price of the merchandise labor. The smaller the quantity of labor needed to produce an article of merchandise the cheaper it is; if the things needed to keep the workingman alive, and in condition to procreate his species, become cheaper, the merchandise labor-power must become cheaper too. Those who have other things to sell than their own hides may be so much money in gas, etc., is cheaper; but not the worker. Socialism has not the MARKET for its objective point but the FACTORY, the place where productive work is done. It seeks to put the implements of work in the workers' hands; the rest will take care of itself. The municipal agitation for cheapness is a bourgeois agitation. Socialism seeks, not to make cheap gas for the workers, knowing that that will only make cheaper workingmen for the capitalist; Socialism seeks to put the gas plant itself and all plants in the hands of the workers, because only so can the worker be rid of the capitalist parasite and keep all that he produces.

Again, municipal issues have with them a fatal allurement. The utopian notion of furnishing "practical illustrations" of Socialism by municipal schemes is fatal, not only in that it panders to a sentiment that cannot but rob Socialism of its revolutionary pulse and thereby retard it, but also in that it denies by implication the material fact, never to be lost sight of, that the womb in which the Socialist Commonwealth develops is the womb of the nation, and, as a result, that the real issues of the day are essentially national in their nature; that all other issues, municipal and State, deserve attention in so far only as they connect directly with the central, the national revolutionary thought. Your municipal campaign in Boston can be made. Socialist campaign only in so far as you hew close to the principle that to carry Boston for the Socialist Labor party is merely to capture for the revolution one of the outposts of Washington—our real objective point.

It is for these reasons that sound tactics, important at all times, have a special and specific importance in Socialist municipal campaigns. In National, and even State campaigns, the very nature of the issues removes the danger of our attracting unripe votes, and thus being mislead; our poll there is a pretty reliable barometer of the numerical ripeness of the proletariat. In municipal campaigns, on the contrary, many things, many unguarded expressions, are apt to contribute towards a swollen Socialist poll; such a poll would be an unreliable barometer of proletarian ripeness; few things are to be more carefully avoided by our movement than that of self-deception. Let "Hurrah movements" trot out figures that melt away like snow before the sun. Ours is a movement not of a day or of a man; it must be absolutely self-reliant. Hence in our municipal contests the question of tactics should be pre-eminent. Rather a small vote gained soundly than a big one that you know not what it may turn to.

The best way to introduce the specific tactical points I want to mention is first to give you an idea of what happened in New York last November 2 and during the campaign that closed with that day.

THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK.

Outside of New York State, the capitalists and their parties have not yet reached the point of fearing the Socialist Labor party. In New York, especially in the now city of Greater New York, the Socialist Labor party is feared. The magnitude and spontaneity of our meetings, the firmness of our attitude, our unswerving career, have not

IDOLATRY FOR THE WORD UNION.

Time was, in its devotion to the cause of the class through whose loins it is strained, the S. L. P. bowed down in mock reverence before the labor union without looking further. As the Union consisted of proletarians, the same as the party, most of whose members were, as they are yet, also union men, the party felt sure that the Union, whatever its errors, was bound to develop in the right direction. It erred in this. For reasons too long to go into here, the old trade union, wrongfully planted from the start, underwent here a development that landed it into the hands of a class that is peculiar to American conditions, a sub-class of the capitalist class, to wit, the LABOR FAKIR. In the hands of this gentry, the Union retrograded. All the advantages to be derived from it by the proletariat in point of discipline, information, organization, consolidation, etc., faded out; in the hands of this gentry it became a channel of corruption for the working class, a means to keep them divided and in ignorance, an institution that perverted their vision by turning it away from the right direction and in the direction of middle class aspirations. In the hands of these gentry, the Union became a caricature of the middle class, with all the illusions and weaknesses of that class, a curse to the workers, an impediment to progress—but a source of revenue, if the paltry Judas wage can be styled revenue, to the Labor Fakir.

This baneful development had gone on unperceived. But that is not all. Last year's campaign in the Ninth Congressional District set the district ablaze to such an extent that it forced its way into the capitalist press, and closed with a Socialist poll of over 4,300 votes—a larger vote than that cast for more than one of our Comrades now holding seats in some of the Parliaments of Europe; and this year's campaign in the Sixteenth Assembly District was of such a vigorous nature that our party came out second in the race, and so close to election that 700 votes would have turned the scales in our favor. The work, the vigor, the discipline, the enthusiasm that all this implies cannot choose but be sufficiently manifest to reach the alert eyes and ears of the capitalist foe. That foe knows that important Socialist victories are now at hand in New York; it knows that any one such victory means the starting of a new political era, means the closing of an old volume and the opening of a new—and they have set their caps to delay, to prevent, if possible, the happening of that that will compel their press to take proper notice of the party.

Now yet is that all. Our right to a place on the official ballot is a sore in the New York capitalist's eye and a thorn in his side. Despite the shameful manner in which we are counted out in the rural districts of the State where we have no organization, they have not been able to wipe us off the official ballot. Count us out as they may in the rest of the State, the vote in New York City alone renders our place safe. The increase of this vote makes us all the safer, and infuriates the foe all the more. But besides their failure in this direction, another thing contributed at the last campaign to intensify their efforts against us. The party nominations in New York are arranged in columns. Each party entitled to a place on the official ballot has a column for itself; and they are arranged according to the vote they polled at the last gubernatorial election. Now, the S. L. P. holds virtually the third place. The Republican party comes first; the second and third columns are taken up by the two factions of the Democratic party; these two are virtually one party; the S. L. P., consequently, is the third party. It got into the third place last year by driving the Prohibitionists back. Now, then, this third place is important. There are "historians" going about who advance the theory that "third parties have no room and no chance in this country." The fact is that this country's history, short as it is, is the history of the success of "third parties" (applause);—of course, of third parties that know what they want, that know how to get there, and that are determined to do so, in other words, that have a mission to fulfill. That the S. L. P. is such a party, the foe knows. When the sample blank ballot was published, and it was ocular and pictorially brought home to the foe that we were the third party in New York, the effect upon their press was visible. For a day or so the surprise of the capitalist press got the best of their judgment, and they had editorials and squibs commenting upon the "promotion" of the S. L. P. ticket, etc. Then there followed silence; and upon the silence there followed a sight and sound that was unique, inspiring, instructive.

I shall not here go into the evolution of the Henry George candidature. Suffice it to say that it went through a series of stages; its last stage was reached when the sample ballots were published. With one accord, the capitalist press announced and boomed them as "the candidate of the Socialist Labor party." Editorials appeared stating that it was "a trick" on the part of the Socialists to set up another ticket; that they were all going to vote for George. Straw votes were published, in all of which a large vote was given to George; even Paddy Gleason, who was wholly swept out of sight, was "straw voted" into prominence; silence reigned as to our candidate; occasionally only, as to emphasize the point, we were granted a vote. It was George, and George again; George "the Socialist," George "the idol of the revolutionary element"; George "the representative man of the S. L. P." And most notably in the midst of all this, Henry George, who had been strutting the stage of American history for the last ten years as the great "Socialist Killer," and who justly entertained for Socialism the aversion that the ridiculous mouse entertains for the cat, never once opened his mouth in denial of this robust political lie. His meetings, small though they were, were inflated in the press into "mammoth Socialist rallies"; ours, however big, did not get a whisper.

Our party fought its way in the city under this bi-diurnal deluge of false information, palpably intended to confuse the masses and discredit the party. The conspiracy failed, in so far as it failed to wipe us out. Our square came out with the loss of NOT ONE MAN: nay, it came out with fully 1,000 new recruits—stronger, more vigorous, better disciplined and radiant. (Applause.)

ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNIONISM.

Next in importance, as applicable here in Boston also, is the New York attitude towards the several races.

When the thoughts of great men fall into the hands of little men a mess is the inevitable result. The Socialist or proletarian movement is international; this is a profound thought, dropped from master lips. Unable to understand this thought, there are those who deny all national inherited feelings.

Man, the best of us, the firmest in the humane principles of our great cause, still is man, and flesh, and apprehensive.

We are apt to love our own children, our own homes, just a little better than we love others' homes and children. I'll confess to you that, to me, for instance, the word "America" associated, as it is, with the earliest reminiscences of my childhood and woven in the nursery tales of the great deeds of her sons, and of the surpassing beauties of her natural sceneries, awakens in me a feeling that no other country's name can awaken. We must count with this feeling. It is a virtue. Like all other virtues, if driven to excess, it may become a vice and harmful. We should utilize the good that is in it, and that it is capable of.

Take the Irishman for instance. He were a monster if the word "Erin" did not quicken his pulse with love. Generations of heroic struggles against a foreign domination have woven that word into his very heartstrings. The thought of freeing Ireland from British domination is natural, is praiseworthy. To sympathize with this feeling and to promote it wisely is no denial of the internationality of our movement. On the contrary. We, who are already Socialists, and know the secret of the birthplace of slavery, are the only ones who can show the proletarian sons of Erin the path to her liberation. That path lies exactly upon the elevated plane of International Socialism, and his passionate love for Erin will help him to see it. For instance. During the Pullman strike it came out that Queen Victoria owned large blocks of stock in the Pullman prison-pens. Her grandfather, when his workingmen in America, the colonists, went on strike and refused to yield him dividends—taxes, as it was then called—had to send red-coats over to try and coerce them. His grandfather, now that America is "free," when her wage-slaves in Pullman go on strike, needs not go through the trouble that her grandfather did; she can let a Grover Cleveland, named "President," in fact her lackey, together with her other lackeys on the Bench, in the Senate, etc., do her dirty work. The Irishman who, justly fired by hatred of the British rule, has his attention called to such facts, cannot fail to see through the deception practised upon him when miscreants of his race call upon him to support the Democratic and Republican henchmen of the Govern-

ment that he hates. He is then switched on to a track that enables him to drop the illusions of old and to perceive the class struggle. His formerly limited patriotism enlarges; his very love for Erin makes him shake off his misplaced love for the Irishman who is a capitalist, and draw himself close to all his fellow wage-slaves of all nations. This is no sneaky exploitation of his virtue; his virtuous love for Erin can win him to the cause of mankind. It is a portal that we do not lock and bolt in New York. On the contrary, we open it wide with the Irish and in all similar instances. (Loud applause.)

This is the obverse of a medal, that, as all medals, has a reverse. For the very reason that such national features may be useful and must be cultivated, we must strenuously resist the attempt to enlist respect for alleged national characteristics that are not virtues but vices, that are not noble features but defects, that are not national but freakish. This issue was forced upon us by an element, mainly from among the Russian Jews, which, although it is to the Jewish race what the slum-proletariat is to the working class, sought to array itself in all the dignity of that race, and demanded not recognition merely, but supremacy AS JEW.

No need of multiplying illustrations. Of such is the bulk of the "unionism" in the land to-day; hence the working class is disorganized, and a prey to capitalism. Such "unionism" is a fraud. The interests of the Labor Fakirs require the continuance of this disorder. While the party ignored this fact it indirectly promoted the conditions under which the proletariat remained in abject hopelessness and darkness, with the result that the party, in the eyes of the broad masses, shared the suspicion that already was being attached to the Fakir, and had no standing whatever in the country.

But the superstitious reverence for the word UNIONISM finally came to an end. The party broke through that shell. It raised its Arm and Hammer, lustily played that with heavy raps over the heads of the existing fake unionism. No longer did it bow down before the word; it began to look behind that word. All progress dates from then. The fakirs howled, and some of their dupes howled with them, but the rank and file saw a new light and breathed a new air. It is no accident that in New York last election day the party's heaviest gains were made just in the districts whose organizations and candidates were most uncompromisingly on the war path against the devilry of fake unionism, and in favor of bona fide unionism, the unionism that is built upon the solidarity of the proletariat—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. (Loud applause.)

Let me recommend to you to fearlessly follow that path, untroubled by the noise of the Labor Fakir. In the Sixteenth Assembly District, where the party organization was conspicuously on the basis of New Trade Unionism, i. e., of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, an incident happened that is worth noticing. Our watchers were accurate in their reports; they reported just two ballots on which their candidate for the Assembly, whom the fakirs had concentrated their rage against, was stricken off. These two otherwise Socialists had been made enemies, but in their stead over 700 had been made friends, and they put that candidate that much ahead of the ticket. Those two could have been kept as friends only by an attitude that could not have attracted the 700 (applause). By the party's old policy, it kept 2 by losing 700 (applause). The tactics, with regard to unionism, that we follow now attract 700, though we may temporarily lose 2. Fall to fearlessly on this path. The necessary ally of the political movement for the emancipation of the proletariat is the class-conscious tradesunion; that implies that their narrow-breasted brains breed. These leaders, who, strolling like rolling stones westward from Russia, have acquired only the worst features and none of the good of the nations among whom they sojourned and now sojourn, of ungovernable conceit and vanity, superficial knowledge, meretricious abilities, characterless, unscrupulous, and bereft of all sense of propriety, sought to ride the party. They played upon the unfortunate, diseased Russian Jew. Although these leaders themselves are a libel upon the Jew, they donned the mask of apostles of the Jewish race, to aid them in their scheme—and thus sought to introduce the Sepulchre question into our ranks—just as their fellows have vainly tried in Europe. By fraud they captured three of our Assembly Districts with the wretches who were weak enough to listen to them, threw the party constitution overboard, instituted there a system of terror and rowdiness, and, stupidly imagining from their first successes that they had the party by the throat, they began to claim superior rights for the Jew over the Gentile, and to seek to dwarf our great cause to the small measure of their own petty notions and vanities.

As the worst enemy of the Irishman, the Italian, the Slav, etc., comes from the ranks of their own race, so likewise, from the ranks of the Russian Jew come the men, the leaders, who seek to exploit his weakness for the gratification of the private malice which their narrow-breasted brains breed. These leaders, who, strolling like rolling stones westward from Russia, have acquired only the worst features and none of the good of the nations among whom they sojourned and now sojourn, of ungovernable conceit and vanity, superficial knowledge, meretricious abilities, characterless, unscrupulous, and bereft of all sense of propriety, sought to ride the party. They played upon the unfortunate, diseased Russian Jew. Although these leaders themselves are a libel upon the Jew, they donned the mask of apostles of the Jewish race, to aid them in their scheme—and thus sought to introduce the Sepulchre question into our ranks—just as their fellows have vainly tried in Europe. By fraud they captured three of our Assembly Districts with the wretches who were weak enough to listen to them, threw the party constitution overboard, instituted there a system of terror and rowdiness, and, stupidly imagining from their first successes that they had the party by the throat, they began to claim superior rights for the Jew over the Gentile, and to seek to dwarf our great cause to the small measure of their own petty notions and vanities.

For a time we held our breath and looked on, and tried reason. The gravity of the situation finally dawned upon us. And we met it in the only wise way. The "national" or "race" characteristics claimed by this element and put in operation by it, even if really national or racial, were of the sort that had to be crushed; it kept out the decent Jewish element, and, of course, the Gentile too. New York saw that; pulled itself together, and, with one grab of this element by the nap of the neck threw them out.

Philadelphia, so circumstanced that it could take in the situation more promptly, had taken the lead by putting these people out, and promptly gathered the fruits of its policy by more than doubling its vote. New York followed, and, by the firmness it showed in upholding order and squelching a perverse movement of scheming adventurers, earned increased respect, was able during the campaign to present a solid front, that otherwise it never could have presented, and gained votes everywhere;—even in the reorganized districts, its percentage increased. (Long and loud applause.)

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Again. In the printers' trade we have in New York a so-called "Hebrew Typographical Union." It leaves its own trade unorganized; despairs of organizing proletarians in the midst of a fight, thereby aiding the bosses by such downright scaberry; seeks to keep its jobs at the expense of leaving all others wholly unorganized; and receives the aid and protection of a German "union," whose own main endeavor seems to be to throw into the camp of the unorganized its own fellow-members, who aided it in gaining whatever it now has, but have since lost their jobs.—Are these unions in every proper sense of the words?—Such organizations cannot, but disrupt, enfeeble and degrade the working class. (Applause.)

Take a still broader view of the situation, see the attitude of the A. F.

OF L. It places its membership on the ground of the capitalist issue of the tariff. In the tobacco trade the manufacturers want cheap tobacco, hence want a low tariff; the raisers of tobacco leaf in the country want high prices for their goods, hence want a high tariff. Gompers gets his cigarmakers' unions to petition Congress in the interest of the bosses, the manufacturers, for a low tariff; the tobacco leaf raisers get their men to petition Congress for a high tariff; and thus the workers whose interests are one, if they stand on the interests of their own class, rush, divided from the start, underwent here a development that landed it into the hands of a class that is peculiar to American conditions, a sub-class of the capitalist class, to wit, the LABOR FAKIR. In the hands of this gentry, the Union retrograded. All the advantages to be derived from it by the proletariat in point of discipline, information, organization, consolidation, etc., faded out; in the hands of this gentry it became a channel of corruption for the working class, a means to keep them divided and in ignorance, an institution that perverted their vision by turning it away from the right direction and in the direction of middle class aspirations. In the hands of these gentry, the Union became a caricature of the middle class, with all the illusions and weaknesses of that class, a curse to the workers, an impediment to progress—but a source of revenue, if the paltry Judas wage can be styled revenue, to the Labor Fakir into capitalist class issues.

This is the obverse of a medal, that, as all medals, has a reverse. For the very reason that such national features may be useful and must be cultivated, we must strenuously resist the attempt to enlist respect for alleged national characteristics that are not virtues but vices, that are not noble features but defects, that are not national but freakish. This issue was forced upon us by an element, mainly from among the Russian Jews, which, although it is to the Jewish race what the slum-proletariat is to the working class, sought to array itself in all the dignity of that race, and demanded not recognition merely, but supremacy AS JEW.

A party such as the Socialist party, wedged in between the reactionary forces of the land, and conspicuously revolutionary, can not choose but attract freaks and crooks and schemers—the flotsam and jetsam of modern society. Such elements soon find the S. L. P. not to be what they imagined; they find

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THE PEOPLE'S CALENDAR.

THE PEOPLE will this year have a very artistic and beautifully designed New Year Greeting, symbolizing the aggressiveness of our movement.

The central figure is that of a workman with the hammer in his uplifted hand, flanked by two female figures, representing Freedom and Revolution. There are many other notable features, producing all together a highly attractive and impressive ensemble.

Price 10 cents, sent to any address.

PARTY NEWS.**Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.****SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.**

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N.Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandow, 193 Champlain St., Cleve land, O.

National Executive Committee.

Comrade Stahl held the chair at the meeting on Dec. 14th. Furman, Bennett and Matchett were absent. The financial report for the week ending Dec. 11th showed receipts to the amount of \$105.75; expenditures, \$60.03; balance, \$45.72. Comrade Keinhardt reports of his agitation in Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia. A belated report from Chicago tells of the expulsion of George Koop for having joined the S. D. Charters were granted to new Sections in Hagerstown, Md.; Latrobe and Roscoe, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

Sections of the S. L. P., Attention:

The pamphlet "Erin's Hope," with an appendix, containing a call of the Irish Socialist Republican party to the working class Irish of America and a call of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., to our Irish fellow workers, is now ready, and orders can be filled at short notice.

Price for single copies 5 cents. Discount to dealers and for larger quantities. Address all orders to

N. Y. LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York City.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

Kentucky.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 10.—The Press Committee, in a previous letter to THE PEOPLE, expressed their opinion that the campaign agitation carried on in Louisville would result in a stronger American organization. To-day we are in the position to state, that this prediction has been verified, for since the election the American Section has steadily increased in membership. The result of the election is very gratifying taking all things into consideration, for the "fake" issues of A. P. A.-ism, Populism and Prohibitionism all received a black eye, while the Socialists cast a good vote.

The official count slightly reduced the first figures published in THE PEOPLE because about twenty votes which had been stamped for both Socialist and Democratic tickets were counted for the Democrats. The official vote is as follows:

For Mayor—August Schneider, 68.

For Alderman—Albert Schmitz, 92;

Christ Landolt, 87; Chas. Leyle, 88;

Fred Rist, 88; Frank Giffey, 89; James

D. Manning, 90.

For Councilman—R. P. Caldwell, 1st

Ward, 88; Aug. Spauth, 3d Ward, 87;

Fritz Zimmermann, 6th Ward, 87; Louis

Fleischer, 11th Ward, 87; Wm. A. Wolf, 12th Ward, 88.

Two "labor fakirs" were elected on the Democratic ticket, and now the unions who don't "believe in politics" (?) are being urged to endorse the appointment of arch fakir McGill for a fat city job. The central body of fakirs is making some of the best old line union men extremely tired, and there are good prospects for the withdrawals of some delegates from that body in the near future. Iron Moulder's Union No. 18 have already passed a resolution to that effect, and at the same time decided to favor the holding of open meetings for the discussion of economics and politics. The old and staunch Coopers' Union (K. of L. 1777), has never affiliated with the central body, and the progressive members of Brewers' Union No. 110, and also of Bakers' and Broommakers' Unions, are thoroughly disgusted.

The brewers are gradually getting enough "Kurzenkne," and the bakers have had all the "Weissmann" that they can possibly stomach.

The time is certainly ripening for a genuine progressive Central Labor Organization in this city, an organization which will recognize the necessity of fighting labor's battles along both economic and political lines.

The Socialists have time and again been put off with the excuse from the old style leaders "that the rank and file are not yet ripe" for Socialism. But we have had numerous experiences which have convinced us that this statement is NOT TRUE; that just the contrary is true, namely, that the rank and file ARE ripe for the gospel of Socialism, but that in most cases these self same leaders are purposely keeping their followers in ignorance regarding their true political interests. Therefore if a new central body is organized it desires to escape the inactivity and impotency of the present body, it must be organized on a strict class-conscious basis, such as outlined by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. All

subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Van Kerkvordt, 428 Goethe street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE in place of Comrade Chas. Nilson who resigned.

All subscribers are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to December 15th, 1897.

\$4,575.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

184 William St., N.Y.

"Skand. Am. Arbetaren."

Our Swedish Party Organ can be had on trial for two months for 10 cents. Every comrade who helps to pay for it will receive a copy. Those who help to pay for it will receive a great favor by doing so in the name and address (with or without) to 10 cents. Postage stamps accepted. Let the exact price paid for the price himself if possible, but at any rate send along the name and address.

SKANDINAVIAN AM. ARBETAREN,

297 35-37 Frankfort St., New York, N.Y.

Trades and Societies Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under the heading hereafter at the rate of \$6.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union),

Meeting every Tuesday at 10 a.m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum.

Business Secretary: Fred.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau, 64 East 4th street—District I (Bohemian, 3d East 4th street), every Saturday at 8 p.m.; District II (Greece), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p.m.; District III, meets at 137 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p.m.; District IV, meets at 342 West 4th street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue at 8 p.m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

273 Secretary: HENRY ZINCK.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Meeting: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor.

Meetings every Friday at 4 p.m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p.m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1026, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 64 East 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred Hartmann, Pres.; Fred Wall, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E 4th St.

Waiters Alliance Liberty will hold a ball on Jan. 17th, 1898, at the Progress Ass. Rooms.

Empire City Lodge Machinists will meet the first Sunday in each month at 8 p.m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N.J.

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 1st and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock P.M., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 32d St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Skand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 35th 35th A.D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 16th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

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Chicago, Ill.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Var. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1894 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 13 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the fund in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class are given the same benefits in the same circumstances and length of time \$4.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$200.00 is granted to the widow of a member, and the wife and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a branch can be formed by 25 workingmen in good health, and may be admitted to the above named principles and entitled to do so.

Address all communications to Harry F. Miller, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd Ave., Room 62, New York City.

DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 SCHERMERHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N.Y.

HILLKOWITZ & HILLQUIT, Attorneys at Law, 320 Broadway, Rooms 1314-1316.

JOHN OEHLER'S Steam Printing, 87 Frankfort Street 87 Cor. Pearl St., Franklin Square E.R. 2nd street, between Avenue A and First Ave., New York City.

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To Irish Comrades.

All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon" received from Dublin from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain on hand samples of the handsome green due card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

LABOR NEWS CO., 64 E. 4th street, New York City.

Send your order to

New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, New York, N.Y.

To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches, of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

Your attention is called to a new pamphlet, entitled "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party," which can now be had from the Organizer, at \$1 per 1,000. The above organizations should supply themselves with this pamphlet, which should be distributed at the open air meetings and other places.

L. Goldmann, Organizer, 64 East 4th street, New York.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.